erson, utterly dominates in that sphere the social scatiment, the sentiment of what is babitually due to every man as man. It is this unchallenged primacy of the moral life over the social life of England, this interaction of the moral life over the social life of England, this interaction of the moral life over the social life of England, this interaction of the moral life over the social life of England, this interaction of people, and makes the home-it is because better nertured forci mer feel when exposed to it, how dismal and diagy the very heaven of heavens would become if only these odiously correct and lifeless white-cravated and black-coated respectabilities had the run of it.

You see at a glance that this pennry of England in all spiritual regards, is owing to the simple text that not man but Englashman is the key-note of her assistations. European thought generally and at best is pennsular: it comment insolar; in that it regards England in the probable limits of the human mind. But Englishman the probable limits of the human mind. But Englishman the probable limits of the human mind. But Englishman the probable limits of the human mind. But Englishman, that is to say, who has not been made by God's grace a partaker in heart of the common-wealth of mankind, or a spiritual alien from the moduler that bore him, believes that not Europe but England itself, one of the smallest corners of Europe as Judea was one of the smallest corners of Europe as Judea was one of the smallest corners of Europe but England itself, one of the smallest corners of Europe but England in the limit of the pitch to which all its tunes are set, you are not surprised to see the real telling Thale of human progress. This being the key-note of English thought, the pitch to which all its tunes are set, you are not surprised to see the real term of the smallest corners of the windows rather than hold that sets and salutary parley with each other, which God and nature is thought from all this social obstruction and sty, which causes the American wayfure's heart ance with gice when he remembers his own incor-and exceptionable Nazareth, his own benighted confortable and unsuspecting fellow-sinners who aid to sit sometimes with their timed feet as high heir head, who light their innocent unconscious tipes at every body's tire, and who occasion the sentiment of human brotherhood is at a white real in their bosom, ask you as a gentleman from Nantacket once asked me at the Astor House table, the favor of being allowed to put his superfluous fat upon my plane, provided, that is, the fat was in no way oftensive to me. That the forms in which our buman freedom expresses itself in these latitudes may be open to just criticism in many respects. I cordially admit and even insist; but who sees the uncouth form alone and has no feelmany respects, I cordially admit and even insist; but he who sees the uncoult form slone, and has no feeting for the beautiful human substance within it, for the soul of fellowship that animates and redeems it or all malignity, would despise the shapeless embryo because it is not the full formed man, and burn up the humble acorn because it is not yet the branching cak. But the letter is nothing, the spirit everything. The letter kills, the spirit alone gives life; and it is exclusively to this undericable spiritual difference between Europe and America as organized and expressed in our own constitutional polity that all our formal differences are owing. Our very Constitution binds us. in our own constitutional polity that all our formal dif-ferences are owing. Our very Constitution Einds us, that is to say, the very breath of our political nostril-binds us to disown all distinctions among men, to dis-regard persons, to disallow privilege the most estab-liahed and sacred, to legislate only for the common good, no longer for those accidents of birth or wealth or culture which spititually individualize man from his kind, but only for those great common features of social want and dependence which naturally units him with his kind, and inexorally demand the organization of such unity. It is this immense constitutional life and inepiration we are under which not only separates us from Europe, but also perfectly explains by antag-onism that rabid hostility which the South has always shown toward the schuission of the North to a fair chare of government patronage, and which now ani-mates her in the dirty and disbolic struggle she is making to give bussan slavery the sanction of God's appointment.

When I said awhile ago that an American, as such When I said awhile ago that an American, as such, felt Limself the peer of every man of woman born. Tepresented my hearers as asking me whether that claim was a righteom one; whether, in fact, he whose conscience should practically rettly it in application to himself, would not thereby avouch his own manodesty, contess himself devoid of that hundlity which is the life of true manhood? To the question I reply promptly, No! for this excellent reason—that the claim in question is by no means a distinctive personal claim, but a claim in behalf of every man. When, by virtue of our national genesis and genius, I claim before God and man a rightful equality with every other man, what precisely is it that I do? Do I claim for myself an equality of wit, of learning, of talent, of benevolence, with this, that, or the other special person whom you may name as remarkable for of talent, of benevolence, with this, that, or the other special person whom you may name as remarkable for those endowments? Do I mean to allege my private personal equality with all other persons; my squal claim, for example, to the admiring or sympathetic homage of mankind, with Shakaspeare, with Washington, with Franklin? No man who is not an ass can believe this; and yet you perpetually hear the paid scribes of cld-fogyism repeating the slander throughout the world, as if it were the most indignable of truths. Nothing is more common than to hear persons who are disaffected to the humane temper of our polity, affecting to quote the Declaration of Independence as saying that all men than to hear persons who are disaffected to the humane temper of our polity, affecting to quote the Declaration of Independence as saying that all men are born equal, and under cover of that audacious forgery, exposing it to ridicule. The Declaration is guilty of no such absurdity. It does not say that all men are born equal, for it is notorious that they are born under the greatest conceivable inequalities—inequalities of heart and head and hand—inequalities even of physical form and structure; but it says that notwithstanding these inequalities, they are all created equal—that is, are all equal before God, or can claim as superior merit one to another in His sight, being all slike dependent upon His power, and possessing a precisely equal claim, therefore, each with the other, to the blessings of His impartial providence. The mequalities under which men are born, or which they wherit from their forefathers, are the needful conditions of their individuality, of their various personal identity. The framers of the Declaration saw this as well as anybody, but they also saw, and so in effect said, that however much men may differences which commend them to each other's true respect, but rather that common human want which identifies them all in the Divine regard by making them all equal retainers of His sovereign bounty. No man not a fool can gainay this, and no man not a fool, consequently, can pretend that when I urge this constitutional doctrine of human equality. I have anything whatever to say of myself, personally regarded, or as discriminated from other persons, but only as socially regarded—that is, as united with all other persons. In short, it is not a claim urged on my own behalf alone, but in behalf of every other man who is too ignorant or too debased by convention to assert it for himself.

Our political Constitution, like every other great Providential stride in human affairs, was intentionally educative; was designed to gather us together under

convention to assert it for himself.

Our political Constitution, like every other great Providential stride in human affairs, was intentionally educative; was designed to gather us together under the discipline of well disposed but often sorely tried and disheartened political guides, in order finally to draw us fully forth out of the land of darkness and the house of bondage. The sole great aim of our political constitution has been gradually to induct us out of errors and evils which no Pagan Jew was ever more rlow and reluctant to suspect than we are, into a new and far more grandly human consciousness, into a land of everhasing righteousness and peace. Not one of its literal framers ever had the faintest foresight of its ultimate scientific destination, any more than Moses had of the Messiah whom he preligured; ary more than Isaiah or Joremiah had of the tremendous spiritual scope of the prophecies which uttered themselves through their rapt and dizzy imaginations. The sci-ntific promise of our polity is only to be understood by watching its practical unfolding, by observing the expansive mifusnese it has hitherto exerted and is now more than ever exerting upon the popular mind and upon the popular heart. View thich is the European conception of man's true state on earth, it denies all absoluteness both to persons and institutions, by boldly resolving what is the highest of personalities, namely, the King, and what is the most second of institutions, manely, the Church, both alike from a power into the servant of a power, from a righteousness into the symbol of a righteousness, from a righteousness into the symbol of a righteousness, from a righteousness into the symbol of a righteousness, from a righteousness into the symbol of a righteousness, from a righteousness into the symbol of a righteousness, from a righteousness into the symbol of a righteousness, from a righteousness into the symbol of a righteousness, from a righteousness into the symbol of a righteousness, from a righteousness into the symbol tive aspect—the aspect it bears toward Cansan—which means the supremacy of man a associated life over his individual one, it makes my private righteousness, or that which inwardly relates me to God, utterly posterior to and dependent upon my public righteousness, or that which relates me to my fellow-than. How is it possible, therefore, that its practical effect should be otherwise than educative—educative, too, in the very profoundest manner, that is, out of all evil into all good? Its direct influence is to modify or cularge my private consciousnes, the consciousness I have of myself as a moral being, a being independent of my kind and capable of all manner of arrogant presumptuous private hope toward God, into a public conscience, into a consciousness of myself, as above all things a social being most latimately and indissolubly one with my kind, and incepable therefore of any blessing which they de pot-

legitimately share. It laughs at the pretensions of any person, however reputable, and of any institution, however venerable, to chim an absolute divine sanctity-that is, a sanctity are-pective of his or its un-affected human worth; and it gradually so inflames the affected human worth; and it gradually so inflames the mind with its own august spiritual nearing, so quickens it with its own vivid and pulpitating divine substance, that the conscience which is governed by it of necessity finds itself regenerating, finds itself expanding from a petty diveling and squesking without one sown righteousness, into the clear and ringing and melodious testimony of God's sole righteousness in universal man.

Such, my friends, is the clear, undeniable force of the Constitution under which we live, to generate a new and better mind in the race, by making the interests of human moividuality scentaneously serve these

ests of human moividuality spontaneously corve those of human society. So h is the great and righteous temper of mind to which we are civinely begotten; such the paternal animating spirit that shapes our con-stitutional polity, that originally gave us birth as a nation, and that even now, in this day of seeming nation, and that even now, in this my of caveraity, gives us a conscience of rectinude and invincible might, which is itself incomparably rict er than all prosperity. It is idle to talk as silly people nowever, will talk, as all people will talk whose gross, groveling hearts go back to the firsh-put of the state when they got bread to the full; it is side to By the characteristic points are the contrary, are the inevitable fruit of our political troubles as appringing up out of the ground, as having no graver origin than party facaticism or felly. These troubles, on the contrary, are the inevitable fruit of our very best growth, the sure barbingers, I am personaded, of that rising Sun of Righten beautiful party would know eccluse. bingers, I am persuaded, of that rising Sun of kighteonaucse whose beams shell never again know eclipse. They are merely an evidence, on a larger scale and
in a public sphere, of the discord which every righteous man perceives at some time or other to exist
between his essectial human spirit and his
perishable animal flesh. For every nation is in
imman form, is in fact but an asgregate
or composite form of menhood, greatly
grander and more complex than the simple forms of
which it is made up, but having precisely the same intense unity within itself, and claiming like each of them
a quickening controlling spirit and an obedient servile
body. This annuating controlling spirit of our national
polity like that of our own private nouls, is divine,
comes from God exclusively, and is only revealed hever exhausted, only embodied or empowered never belittled or enfeebled, by the literal symbols in which man wisdom contrives to house it. That part of e letter of our Constitution which best reveals the the letter of our Constitution which best reveals the majestic human spirit that animates our polity, is of course its presmble. But the real divinity of the nation, its vital, imperishable holiness, resides not in any dead paretiment, but only in the righteous unsellish lives of those who see in any Constitution but the luminous letter of their inward spiritual faith, but the visible altar of their invisible worship, and rally around it therefore with the joyous unanrinking devotion not of shaves but of men.

not of slaves but of men.

Now, such being the undoubted spirit of our polity, what taint was there in its material constitution, in our literal maternal inheritance, to afront this righteous aternal spirit, and balk its rich promise, by turning us its children from an erect sincere loopeful and loving brotherhood of men intent upon universal aims, into a herd of greedy luxurious swine, into a band of unsurpulous political adventurers and sharpers, the stink of whose corruption pervades the bine spaces of occan, penetrates Europe, and sickens every struggling nascent human hope with despair?

The answer lears at the care: it is Slavery and

cent human hore with deepair?

The answer leaps at the ears: it is Slavery and Slavery only. This is the peison which lurked almost barmless at first in our body politic, and to which its righteous soul is an utter stranger; this is the curse we inherited from the maternal English Eve out of whose somewhat loose lascivious lap we sprung. But of late years the poison has grown so rank and pervasive, making its citadel, indeed, the very heart of the commonwealth, or those judicial and legislative chambers whence all the tides of its activity proceed, that each successive political administration of the chambers whence all the tides of its activity proceed, that each successive political administration of the country proves more recreant to humanity than its predecessor, until at lest we find shameless God-forcaken men holding high place in the government, become so rabid with its virus as to mistake its slimy purulent core for the ruddy tide of life, and commend oursilent come for the rundy tide of life, and committee foul and fetid minsun to us as the fragrant breath of assured health. It is easy enough to falsify the divinity which is shoping our constitutional action, wherever a will existe to do so. Men whose most cherished treasure can be buttoned up in their breeches pocket, and whose heart, of course, is with their treasure, are, doubtless, panting to convince the country that we and whose heart, of course, is with their treasure, are, doubtless, panting to convince the country that we have already done enough for honor, and the sooner a sham peace is hurried up the better. It only needs a willy wolf of this sort to ender himself here and there in sheep's clothing, and bleat forth a cunning pathetic lament over the causeless misfortunes which have befallen our pread-pad-butter interests. bread-and-butter interests, to see dozens of stupid sheep taking up in their turn the sneaking bypocratical bleat, and preparing tasir innocent fleece for his dishonest lupine shears. The friends of Mammon are numerous in every community; but blessed be God, they nowhere rule in the long run. They are numerous enough to give an odious flavor to the broth: but they never constitute its substance. It is impossible that we should err in this great crisis of our destiny, a crisis to which that of our national birth or independence yields in dignity and importance, as much asbody yields to soul, flesh to spirit, childhood to manhood. For this is the exact crisis we are in: the transition from youth to manhood, from appearance to reality, from passing shadow to deathless substance. Every man and every ration of men encounters somewhere in its progress a critical hour, big with all its future fate: and woe be to the man, we be to the nation who believes that this sacred responsibility can be bread-and-butter interests, to see dozens of stupid sheep tion who believes that this encred responsibility can be trifled with. To every man and to every nation it means sternal life or eternal death; eternal liberry or eternal law; the heaven of free sponta-neous order, or the hell of enforced producneous order, or the nell of entorced pruden-tial obedience. There is no man who hears me who does not know something of this bitter sweat and agony; whose petty trivial cares have not been dignified and exalted by some glimpse of this bidden lowerd fight; who has not at times heard the stiff inward fight; who has not at times heard the still small voice of truth on the one hand counseling him to do the right thing though ruin yawn upon his hopes—counseling him even to force himzelf to do the honest thing though it cost him tears of blood—and the earthquake voice of hell on the other, or the fiery breathquasion infuriated by long starvation, doing its best to drown and devour it. Our national life, believe me, is at this aveal, was in this aveal, was a contraction. passion infuriated by long starvation, doing its best to drown and devour it. Our national life, believe me, is at that exact pass in this awful moment, and nowere else. It is the hour of our endless rise into all beautiful human proportions, into all celestial vigor and beautifule; or of our endless decline into all infermitive and uncleanness, and into the inevitable torments which alone discipline such uncleanness. And we must not hesitate for a moment to fight it manfully out to its smiling, blissful end, feeling that it is not our own battle alone, that we are not fighting for our own country only, for our own alters and firesides as men have fought hitherto, but for the al are and firesides of universal man, for the ineradicable rights of human nature itself. Let bloated European aristocracice rejoice in our calamities; let the beef-hearted and muttonies and electrical and exuitation over our anticipated downfall; the honest, unsophisticated masses everywhere will do us justice, for they will soon see, spite of all efforts to blind them, that we occupy in this supreme moment no petty Thermopylæ guarding some pality Greece, but the broad majestic pass that commands the deathless wealth and worth of human nature itself, the Thermopylæ of the human mind; they will soon see in fact that our flags are waving, our trumpets sounding, our cannon showering their deathful hall, not merely to avenge our outraged political faith and honor, but to vindicate the involuble sanctity of the human form itself, which for the first time in history is Divinely bound up with that political faith and honor.

This is the exact truth of the case. The political tumble-down we have met with is no accident, as un-

self, which for the first time in history is Divinely bound up with that political faith and honor.

This is the exact truth of the case. The political tumble-down we have met with is no accident, as unprincipled politicians would represent it. It is the fruit of an inevitable expansion of the human mind itself, of an advancing seesal consciousness in the race, an ever-widening seuse of human unity, which will no longer be content with the old channels of thought, the old used-up clothes of the mind, but irresistibly demands larger fields of speculation, freer bonds of intercourse and fellowship. We have only frankly to acknowledge this great truth in order to find the perturbation and anxiety which now invade our unbelieving become dispelled, in order to hear henceforth, in every tone of the swelling turbulence that fills our borders, no longer forebodings of discase, despair, and death, but prophecies of the highest health, of kindting hope, of exuberant righteousness, and endless felicity for every man of woman born. "I was once," says an old writer, "I "was once in a numerous crowd of spirits in which "everything appeared at sizes and events: they complained, saying that now a total destruction was at "hand, for in that crowd nothing appeared in conscitation, but everything loose and confused, and this "made them fear destruction, which they supposed also "would be total. But in the midst of their confusion and disquiet, I perceived a soft sound, angelically "eveet, in which was nothing but what was orderly." would be total. But in the midst of their confusion and disquiet, I perceived a soft sound, angelically sweet, in which was nothing but what was orderly. The angelic choirs thus present were within or at the center; and the crowd of persons to whom appertained what was disorderly, were without or at the circumference. This flowing angelic melody continued a long time, and it was told me that hereby was signified how the Lord rules confused and disorderly things which are upon the surface, namely, by circle of a pacific principle in the depths "namely, by evertue of a pacific principle in the depths
"or at the center; whereby the disorderly things upon the
"surface are reduced to order, each being restored
"from the error of its nature." The pacific and restorative principle which in the same way underlies all our political confusion and disorder, and which will irresistibly shape all our national life to its own righteous and orderly issues, is the rising sentiment of human society or fellowship, the grand invincible faith of man's

esential unity and brotherhood. The social conscience. the conscience of what is due to every man as man having the same Divine origin and the same Divine destiny with all other men, is becoming preternaturally quickened in our bosoms, and woe betide the church! woe betide the State! that ventures to say to that conwho betide the State! that ventures to say to that conscience, thus far shalt thou go, and no further! Slavers has this incredible audacity. Slavery, which is the only institution of our European inheritance we have left numedified, confronts and spits upon this riving tide of God's righteourners in the soul of man. Slavery boldly denies what all our specific culture affirms, namely, the inviolable statein of human affection in every form, the inviolable freedom of human thought in every direction. The coltivated intelligence of the race abbors the claim of any human being to possess an absolute property in any other being, '. e. an absolute property in any other being to possess an absolute property in any other being, . . ., a property unvivilied by the other's unforced, spontaneous gift. Shavey affirms this diabelic pretension; affirms the unquestical title of the master to outrage, if need be, the sacredest instincts of natural affection in the slave, and to stifle at need his feeblest intellectual expansion. Accordingly the heart of map affection in the slave, and to stifle at need his feeblest intellectual expansion. Accordingly the heart of man, inspired by God and undepraved by manmen, pronounces Slavery with no misgiving an ununity and infamy; and the intelligence of man, thence en light ened, declares that its empire shall not be extended. We have no right to say that evil shall not exist where it already does exist without our privity; but we have not only all manner of right, both human and Divine, to say that its existence shall not be promoted by our active consivance; it is our paramount windom as men, and our paramount obligation as citizens, to say so. Such, at all event, is our exact social attitude with respect to Slavery. Every unsophisticated soul of man feels it to be what it actually is, namely, the ultimate or at all events, is our exact social attitude with respect to Slavery. Every unsophisticated soul of man feels it to be what it actually is, namely, the ultimate or must general form and hence the king of all the evil pent up in human nature; so that when it once disappears by the clear, indig ant refusal of the human mind any longer accretly to cooperate with it, all those interior and subtle r shapes of evil which now infest us, and are held together by it as the viscous of the body are held together by the skin, will be disparted along with it. We know not when the hour of this great selvation shall strike. We only know that, as God is just and sover ion, it must strike ere long, and that, when it we know not when the hoor of this grace as and sovereign, it must strike ere long, and that, when it does strike, the morring stare of a richer creation than has yet been seen on earth will sing together, and all the sons of God in every subtlest ineflable realm of His dominion shout for joy. Our Government itself is waking up from its long trance; is beginning to perceive that there is something sacceder than commerce on earth; that the interests of this very commerce, in fact, will best be promoted by first of all recognizing that there are depths in the human soul, demands of immacedate rightcourners and assured peace, which all the pecuniary presperity of the world can never satisfy. In short, the Government is fast coming, let us hope, to a consciousness of its distinctively social or human function, by practically confessing that its supreme responsibility is due only to man, and no longer to persons, or infuriated sectional exactions. Of course, in this state of things, it will become gradually converted from the mere tool at has hithered been for adroit political knaves to do what they please with, into a grandly will find. the mere tool it has hither to been for adroit political knaves to do what they please with, into a grandly social force reflecting every honest human want, fulfilling every upright human aspiration. What matters it in this state of things we forfeit the empty political prestige we have hitherto enjoyed with European atakemen? Let us only go on overtly to inaugurate that promised perfect society on earth, all whose officers shall be peace, and its sole exactors rightcauseus, by practically acknowledging on all occasions the infinite Divine Good enshrined in man's heart, the infinite Divine Truth enthroned in his understanding, and we shall fast attain to a social standing in the eyes

by practically acknowledging on all occasions the inmails Divine Good enbrined in man's heart, the infinite Divine Truth enthroned in his understanding,
and we shall fast attain to a social standing in the eyes
of European peoples, which shall grandly compensate
our more political disasters, and do more to modify the
practice of European state-men themselves than anything else we could possibly do.

In this state of things, how jealously should we watch
the Congress to-day assembling at Washington! How
clear should be the watchword we telegraph to guide
their deliberations! Have see indeed no higher monition for our Legislature than old heathen Rome supplied to hers, viz., to see that the Republic suffer no
damage? The body is much, but it is not to seen.

The Republic is much, but it is not all. It is much as
a means, but nothing as an end. It is much as a means
to human advancement, but nothing as its consummation. It is much as an onward march of the race, it is to human advancement, but nothing as its consumma-non. It is much as an onward march of the race, it is nothing whatever as its final victory and rest. Let us be sure that, so far as we are concerned, our legisla-tors understand this. Let them know that we value the Republic to much, only became we value as more; that we value peace, prosperity, and wealth not as ends but as means to an end, which are justice, truth, and mercy, in which alone man's real peace, his true prosperity, and his abiding wealth reside, and which will be ours only so long as we are faithful to the goverle of human freedom and equality. For my the gostel of human freedom and equality. For my part, if I thought that our rulers were going to betray in this agenizing hour the deathless interest confided to them; if I thought that Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Sewto them; if I thought that Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward were going at hast to paller with the sublime instinct of human peace and human righteoseness that clevated them to power and gives them all their personal prestige, by making the least conceivable further concession to the obscene demon of Slavery, then I could joyfully see Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward scourged from the sacred eminence they defile, yea more, could joyfully see our boasted political house itself laid low in the dust forever, because in that case, its stainless stars and stripes would have such from a and low in the dust forever, because in that case, its stainless stars and stripes would have sunk from a banner of freemen into a dishonored badge of the most contemptible people on earth; a people that bartered away the fairest spiritual birthright any people ever yet were born to, for the foulest mess of material pot-tage ever concocted of shameless lust and triamphant fraud.

THE WAR HAS BUT ONE OBJECT.

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

Sir: The object of this mighty and sublime uprising
of the North, the distinction between its probable direct and probable indirect results, and the great importance of some of them, cannot be too carefully nor teo frequently considered. First: Some speak as if the abolition of Slavery

were the object. But the putting down of the gigantic conspiracy against the Government is it. That and nothing else is it. In other words, the one object of the uprising is to save the nation from being broken up into thirty or forty nations—the doctrine of its arsailante being that each State is a sovereignty, is a nation. We confess that we are all the more eager to preserve our Government because of the infamous Pro-Slavery character of that which is thrust forward to take its place. But no Government can be to good as to reconile us to the fraudulent and forcible displacing of our own by it.

The right of the States to withdraw from the nation s urged on the ground that the States made the nation. But they did not make it. The Constitution says that We, the People of the United States," made it. It was by States they declared their making it. This was convenient. In one respect it was absolutely necessary, since in this wise only every State could express its consent to denationalize itself, and to transfer its surrendered sovereignty to the thereby constituted nation. What, however, if the nation is a partnership

its consent to denationalize itseri, and to transfer its surrendered sovereignty to the thereby constituted nation. What, however, if the nation is a partnership of States! There is surely no provision that one of the partners can discolve it. It is readily admitted that a State has the revolutionary right of withdrawal. But so has a county, a town, and even an individual. No greater is the right because they who exercise it are so numerons as to make up a State.

Second: Nor is the object of this uprising to sustain, or in any degree favor, Slavery. To claim this is as wrong as to claim that its object is to overthrow it. No one by taking part in this movement commits himself thereby either to Slavery or Anti-Slavery. However some may hope and labor to have it help the one, and however some may hope and labor to have it help the other, none are at liberty to misinterpret or pervert the one object of the movement. In this resistance to the rebellions enemies of our Government we have joined hands, not as Republicans nor as Democrata, not as Abelitionists nor Anti-Abelitionists, but solely as Americans and as defenders of our Government. We may still remember that we are Republicans, Democrats, Abelitionists, Anti-Abelitionists. But the remembrance must not be allowed to loosen our hands, to make us treacherous to one another or to the one legitimate object of our union. It is not needful to help the object, and it is needful to prove that we are capable, despite these differences, of maintaining this new and holy brotherhood into which we have catered. And here let me express my great pleasure in the magnanimous overlooking by the National and State authorities of party differences in appointments to such civil offices as are essentially connected with the prosecution of the war. To ask that political preferences should be waived in filling other civil offices would be unreasonable. The war calls for political neutrality only so far as respects the war. Outside of the war expressions of political preference are

It follows that our army would do wrong were it to quit its work of defending the Government and go to abolishing slavery. It follows, too, that our army does wrong in turning aside from its proper work to lend a helping hand to slavery. Not to speak of others, how gross a breach of faith this is toward the ten thousand Abolitionists who are taxing themselves heavily in collecting and maintaining the army! How

surpassingly cruel the breach of faith toward soldiers who, to withstanding they are Abelitionists, are commanded to defile their consciences and outrage their moral sense with Pro-Shvery work! By the way, would it be strange, should this oppression be persevered in, if a serious insubordination—a dangerous assertion of manhood—were to break out at this point?

Commanders assume that certain persons who come to the army are slaves. Some of these persons they deliver up to be tortured. Others they class with brutes and things, degrade to the category of "contraband of war," and compel to labor. I am aware that there of war," and compel to labor. I am aware that there is a statute of Congress—I say not that it is warranted by the Constitution—which provides for returning fagitive slaves. But under this statute the returned persons must first be judicially proved to be claves, and also to have escaped from one State to another. Our commanders not chaining to act under this statute, nor, indeed under any other, are of course guilty of an entirely lawless and an entirely gratuitous service to Slavery. Nor less lawless and gratuitous is their service to Slavery in threatening to put down service insurrections. If the Constitution provides protection against servile it surrections, it is only because it prevides it against "domestic violence." But it does not provide it against "domestic violence." But it does not provide it against "domestic violence." But it does not provide it against "domestic violence." But it does not provide it against "domestic violence." But it does not provide it against "domestic violence." But it does not provide it against "domestic violence." But it does not provide it against "domestic violence." But it does not provide it against "domestic violence." But it does not provide it against "domestic violence." But it does not provide it against "domestic violence." But it does not provide it against "domestic violence." But it does not provide it against "domestic violence." Such a service in the provide it against the patting down of a servile insurrection in time of war may be such a necessity. It is left to the President or army to decide in time of war what a reput of the patting requires the It it is left to the President or army to decide in time of war whether the safety of the nation requires the putting down of servile insurrections, then is it also left to them to decide in time of war whether its safety requires the abolition of Slavery.

What, however, it may be asked, is our army to do

with the black men, women, and children who are flocking to it? I answer that, inasmuch as it can neither legally nor morally know any of them as slaves,

neither legally nor morally know any of them as shaves, it is to do with them precisely as if their skins were white. It is to treat them as bummaely as armies are wont to treat deserters. But what if their numbes abecome so great that the army cannot take care of them all! I answer that, in such event, it is not obliged to take care of them all. But, manifestly those they can do nothing for they must do nothing against. No army is bound so to encumber itself with deserters as to endanger itself or its objects. But no army is stillierty to make war upon those who desert to it.

And, what if it is so, that these deserters to our army are slaves! The poor creatures have never done us any wrong. Their tears and sweat-and-blood-bedewed sugar and rice, and grain and cotton, have fed and clothed us. What inhumanity and wickedness for our army to plunge them into the hell of slavery! And ere the war is over the North may learn what folly also it is to show herself to be the enemy of the blacks, and thus to make the blacks her enemy. The North claims that God is on her side. But He is on the side of neither North nor South. Things there are in each which he approves. He approves the rescuing of Government form the esseaths of truitors. But in their treatment North nor South. Things there are in each which he approves. He approves the rescuing of Government from the assaults of traitors. But in their treatment of the black man both the North and South are souk down to the lowest depths of injustice; and God is no more on the side of an unjust people than on that of an unjust person. God is our highest conception of justice, and no where can He dwell with injustice. When both North and South aball easy from the heart, "We are verily guilty concerning our brothe"," then, and not till then, will God be on the side of both North and South. Alse, the notsentical and sturid, as well as South. Alas, the nonsensical and stupid, as well as wicked repugnance to enrolling black men in our army! By means of such enrollment the triumph of our arms. would be very speedy; and by means of such safe dis-position of black men the South would probably be saved from horrors which she probably will otherwise

Third : Incidental, but only incidental, to the pro-Thered: Incidental, but only incidental, to the progress of the war will be the crumbling to pieces of the whole fabric of American Slavery. If the war is protracted, or if the South ness pirates, savages and negroes in it, the North will not only enroll negroes in her army, but she will be so exasperated as to arm negroes outside of the army. Such enrolling would conquer the South. Such arming would desolate her. Even now does reason call for the enrolling. Even now, when we need men of whatever complexion to help us, does reason call on us to lay aside our prejudices against complexion. For the arming of slaves without controling them reason can never call. Rage alone can resort to it—such rage as led our British is there and their American children to arm savages against each other. I need not add that to put arms into the hands of the negroes, enrolled or unenrolled, is to put an end to Slavery.

is to put an end to Slavery.

But although the North should refuse negro aid to But although the North should refuse negro and to shorten the war, the death of Slavery is nevertheless certain. Indeed, the more prolonged and expensive the war shull be, the more determined will be the Forth to extirate the sole cause of it. I am war-Both to extirate the sole cause of it. I am warranted in calling it the sole cause, not only because the war is for Slavery, but because no other spirit than that of Slavery is maddening enough to impel men to the overthrow of a Government so strong, and witten so advantageous and partial to themselves. That Slavery is the sole cause of the war, might be alleged on the sole ground of the deep desire of the conspirators for the election of Abraham Lincoln. For they doubted not that they could persuade the South that his election was an Anti-Slavery victory; an Anti-Slavery invasion of its Pro-Slavery rights. So eager were the conspirators for his election, that they called on even the little handful of Radical Abolitionists to vote for him. A letter to this end from Mr. John Driver of Alsbama to myself, dated July 23, 1860, I gave to the press. The long and the short is, that the conspirators became conspirators, the traitors traitors, simply because they were slaveholders. To deny this is to ignore facts, defy logic, and make history a lie. The war will cest the North, directly and indirectly, more than five hundred millions of dollars, and probably not less than fifty thousand lives. Should Slavery live, it will return to torment herefore, the same fashion. Hence she will not Should Slavery live, it will return to torment he after the same fashion. Hence she will no leave it to live. Moreover, the Northwill be all the more determined on its death, because

leave it to live. Moreover, the North will be all the more determined on its death, because it is already coming to see clearly what, owing to party and other obscurations, it has heretofore seen but dimly, that almost from the beginning of our nation Slavery has been the chief corrupter of her morals and disturber of her politics, and the great consumer of her earnings. Concern for commerce more than for country—for politics more than for principles—will doubtless continue to call for the sparing of Slavery and for such new and further concessions to it as shall constitute the foundations of peace between the belligerents. But the call will be in vain. The people will not hear it. The people are now sick of Slavery. They have at last had enough of it. Again, they will not consent to make peace with armed traitors. Unconditional surrender on the part of the traitors is the first step which the people will consent to have taken in the way of peace. Any peace in which this is not the first step which the people will consent to have taken in the way of peace. Any peace in which this is not the first atep will be spurious, and will demoralize and destroy the Government. The single issue being the giving up of their Government by the loyal, the people will insist that it is the Kebellion which shall be given up. They will insist that the Rebellion rather than the Government shall perish. Moreover, to give up our Government in this wise would be to cut ourselves off from having another. No Government, however good in itself, built up in the place of one we have basely yielded to traitors, could command respect either at home or abroad. In other words, a base people cannot have a Government. I do not forget that compromises—that peace measures—are to be offered at the approaching session of Congress. Let them be offered. Their only effect will be to brand deeply and indelibly as traitors to their Government and country all who favor them. I admit that Slavery and commerce, cun-Their only effect will be to brand deeply and indelibly as traitors to their Government and country all who favor them. I admit that Slavery and commerce, cunning and craft could rule the people when they were askep. But now that they are awake, and two or three hundred thousand have arms in their hands, they cannot. There is but little reason to fear that Congress will be guilty of this proposed treason. There is far more reason to hope that it will favor the ubolition of Slavery, as a military necessity, by the Proclamation at the right time of the President in his chair, or Gen. Scott at the head of the army. How sligered even after a no-higher-moved Proclama-How altered even after a no-higher-moved Proclama-tion would be the look of the civilized world toward tion would be the look of the civilized world toward our nation! As full then of admiration as it is now of scorn. We complain bitterly of the respect which England shows to the new American Government. But is not the complaint as unreasonable as it is bitter, seeing not only that it is a small measure of respect, but that the measure, to which the old American Government had as yet shown itself entitled, was not very large? For, had not England seen the new Government left undisturbed, and even for months, to consolidate itself? Had she not seen the North so debauched by Slavery, as to render it quite probable that no ment left undisturbed, and even for months, to consolidate itself? Had she not seen the North so debanched by Slavery, as to render it quite probable that no effective nor even considerable opposition to the new Government could be aroused? But, there is wonder that anti-Slavery England can be so inconsistent as to recognize in even the slightest degree a Government so broadly and intensely pro-Slavery as is the new one. Nevertheless is it moreguiltily pro-Slavery than the old one? In an important point of view it is even less so. The new one is under strong temptation to be pro-Slavery. The old one is almost gratuitously so. England sees our army playing into the hands of Slavery,—and this, toe, not only without the least plea of law for it, but without any rebuke or even the slightest disapproval from Government. We jeccive ourselves when we suppose that our old Government is in an attitude, or, indeed, ever has been (thank God it soon will be!), to command the sympathy, or elicit the praise of the anti-Slavery nations. It is, perhaps, even more disgusting to them—it certainly is in the light of its enormous inconsistency and hypocrisy—than is the new one. Immeasurable is the malignity of a Government which is instituted to perpetuate Slavery. Immeasurable, also, is the meanness of a Government which consents to be the slaveholders' watch deg. The London Times says:

Ido not deny that many foolish things are said in England of this war. Ineffably foolish are her good honest souls, who so innocently inquire why we do not let the slave States go. If some of her counties should undertake to destroy her government and union, would England let them go? There would be at least three conditions to her letting them go. let. The assurance that the rebels who were plundering her national vaults and capturing her forts and vessels, and threatening to capture the seat of her Government and her principal cities, would let England go. 2d. That they should bay down their arms and desire from their rebellion. 3d. That they should hay down their arms and desire from their rebellion. 3d. That they should, by a free vote of their people, ask the nation to let them go. Englishmen, who would have England take as high ground as this, or rather no lower ground than this low one, toward her rebels, should not complain of America for taking the like ground toward American rebels. For the English press to impute rashness and rigor to our Government is ridiculous. No other Government ever showed such patience under such provocation. It allowed her rebel both to complete his preparation and strike his blow. But proud, prompt, pugnacious England breaks her rebel's arm at the first revelation of his rebellions purpose.

I have referred to an improbable and to a less improbable action of Congress. Much as I have ever been in favor on the principle of "honor among" I do not deny that many foolish things are said in

I have referred to an improbable and to a less improbable action of Congress. Much as I have expected in favor, on the principle of "honor among thieves," of having the North share with the South in the present loss by emancipation, I should nevertheless be sorry to see Congress meddle with the matter less be sorry to see Congress meddle with the matter at the extra session, if, indeed (now that circumstances are so changed), at any time. I would not have one moment of that session consumed in conciliating either loyal or disloyal slaveholders, and especially because I would not have one step taken in it that should savor, however slightly, of concession or compromise. Then, again, there are no loyal slaveholders, if you refer to slaveholders of the slaveholding spirit. It is admitted that there are many among those who, from their own-ing so iew slaves, or from other causes, have not the slaveholding character. And in this connection I slaveholding character. And in this connection I would say that the common remark that our nation is governed by the three hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders is very wide of the truth. In respect to such governing, far more than half of them are but nominal slaveholders. This nation is, or rather has been, swayed by less than one hundred thousand slaveholders, and senshtially true is it that among all holders; and emphatically true is it that among all these there is not one who is loyal. No greater antag-onism is there than that between slaveholding and loyalty. Slaveholding despises law. Its will is its law. Search the whole land over, and you will find no one who is in spirit and grain a slaveholder that would not infinitely rather see the Government than

Slavery in rains.

No, let Congress do nothing at the coming session but provide for the most vigorous prosecution and most speedy termination of the war. It might alter the Tariff-not, however, to please free-trade or anti-free-trade men-but simply to make it a more efficient helper in the war. If it shall meddle with anything cise, let it be but to bless with a bankrupt law the cou-mercial men, whom the war is reducing to insolvency. As the Government pities and helps wounded soldiers, so also should it pity and help such insolvents. They,

so also should it fifty and neighbor his tycens. They, too, are war-wounded.

I spoke of abolishing Slavery by Proclamation: for though there were no law for abolishing it, nevertheless in the exigencies of war it may be abolished, not only without law, but against law. "Inter arma leges silent." It should be abolished under the Constitution: and the people will soon have suffered enough from the silent." It should be abblished under the Constitution: and the people will soon have suffered enough from the pro-Slavery interpretation of the Constitution, to make them willing to exchange it for an anti-Slavery interpretation. They will seen cease from interpreting it to suit the interests of those who are trampling upon it. And where are there slaveholders who are not trampling upon it!—openly where they dare, and secretly where they dare not openly. But it will be said that some of the slave States remain loval. If this is so—and thanks to the presence of Federal forces if it is—nevertheless there is no State where one in ten of the considerable slayeholders does not hate our Constitution, our Government, and our Nation. Yes, after this war, the anti-Slavery interpretation of the Constitution, and Lysander Schoner, the ablest advocate of such interpretation, will be popular. Again, should slavery be stupidly and wickedly allowed to survive the war, the abolitionists would very quickly raise a party large enough to vote it down. Hitherto the great hindrance in their way has been the insensibility of the North to her injury from Slavery. But her losses of his and property in this Slavery-begotten war, connected with the outraging and murder of her sojourners in the South, are fast overcoming this insensibility, and preparing her to listen to abolition arguments and act upon them. Far, however, is it from certain that time would be given to the abolitionists to raise such a party. The popular rage against Slavery might hurry it to a violent death before it from certain that time would be given to the abolitionists to raise such a party. The popular rage against Slavery might hurry it to a violent death before it could be voted to a peaceful one. I believe that the war and Slavery will end together. On the one hand, the Proclamation abolishing Slavery would end the war, because the South would then have nothing left to fight for. On the other, the North will not let the war end unless the one cause of it shall also end. The South began the war to make Slavery national and eternal. The North will end it by their uncelayed expalsion of Slavery from every part of the nation. An attempt on the part of Congress or Cabinet te end the war without ending Slavery, would prove to be a fearful exper-Slavery from every part of the nation. An attempt on the part of Congress or Cabinet to end the war with-out ending Slavery, would prove to be a fearful exper-iment on human patience. I said that ending Slavery would end the war. How great then the guilt of the North for not immediately staying the effusion of blood by immediately blotting out Slavery!

Fourth: The war ended and Slavery abolished, and we shall again be—what for forty years we have not been—a NATION. All this time the hatred and con-tempt of the South for the North have been growing been—a Nation. All this time the haired and contempt of the South for the North have been growing into a haired and contempt greater than ever one mation felt for another. This was in no degree owing to geographical and climatic differences. The course of the Allegiannia and the Mississippi is enough to prove that nature intended we should be of one nation. It is Slavery alone—that great breeder of arrogance and scorn, and all the elements of tyrarny—which has alienated the South from the North. That dead, and "Secession," which is born of it and lives of it, is also dead. Slavery dead, and the people of Virginia and the Carolinas will rejoice and glory a thousand fold more in their national citizenship than in their comparatively petty relations to Virginia and the Carolinas. That dead, and Kentackiana and Missourians will no longer regard their national connection to be so loss and cold, as to make "armed neutrality! compatible with it. Let me say in passing, that this "armed neutrality," which is nothing less than arming against the nation, is as much meaner than "Secession" as dissembling and skulking treason is meaner than open and avowed treason. Being more seductive and pernicious, it should be more surely punished.

It is often said that we cannot live with a conquered contribute the side of the said that we cannot live with a conquered contribute the side of the said that we cannot live with a conquered contribute that the said that we cannot live with a conquered contribute the side of the said that we cannot live with a conquered contribute the said that we cannot live with a conquered contribute the said that we cannot live with a conquered contribute that the said that we cannot live with a conquered contribute the said that we cannot live with a conquered contribute the said that we cannot live with a conquered contribute the said that we cannot live with a conquered contribute the said that we cannot live with a conquered contribute the said that we cannot live with a conquered contribute the sai

It is often said that we cannot live with a conquered South. I admit that her Slavery has at last become so rampant as to make it impossible for us to live with a slaveholding South, be she conquered or unconquered. But with the South set free from Slavery—from that stateholding South, be she conquered or unconquered. But with the South set free from Slavery—from that destroyer of her temper—we can live. We can live with her when "her idole are confounded, her images broken," her stormy spirit tranquillized, and her "sout even as weanedchild." We cannot live with a drunkard—but it does not follow that we cannot, when he has become a sober man. With an insane man we cannot live, but we can when he has "come to himself." When the South and the North have become homogeneous, and their interests harmonized, they can not only live together but they will then be happy in each other. But we do not propose to conquer the South in any such sense as to subjugate her. It can hardly be said that we propose to conquer her at all. Her daring rebels we must conquer: and even they, when conquered, will, I trust, be mercifully desit with. But the emancipated South will be the acknowledged equal of the North. Her men we will regard as our brothers, and her women as our sisters. For the North, having conquered the rebellion, to go to hanging the rebels or confiscating their estates, would betray an amazing forgetfulness of her own large share of responsibility for the rebellion. Slavery alone having canned the rebellion, and the North having controlted, if not as greatly as the South, nevertheless more guiltily, to the growth and power of Slavery, the North is as much bound as the South to exclaim penitently of the rebellion: "This is my work!" Nevertheless, the North, if it be only to express her ponitence, must put down the rebellion.

Fifth: The war and Slavery ended, and the colored Slavery-from that

if it be only to express her peniteuce, must put down if it be only to express her peniteuce, must put down the rebellion.

Fifth: The war and Slavery ended, and the colored population of the whole land will enter upon a more rapid march of improvement than the world has ever seen. The South will give up her religion of Slavery; and the North will no longer take pleasure in a religion of "South Side Views," and Societies for inculcating pro-Slavery tracts. The Religion of Reason, of Jesus, of the Bible, new so little known in any part of the nation, will then be practiced in every part of it. The colored people will share largely in its blessings. The South and the North will vie with each other in penitent and affectionate services for them. Over all the South will spring up such a demand for meeting-houses and bibles, school-houses, and school books, as was never before heard of. The cursed negro pow will die with its cursed parent, Slavery, Black children will be mingled in school with white children: and the Uncle Toms and the Aunties who are too old to go to school, will not lack angelic Evas to teach them. But private benevolence will not be the only fountain opened to the blacks in the great day of their redemption. State Governments will add their beneficent action. The Federal Government will also extend a helping hand. It will not only relieve the blacks of the degradation of being excluded from military service and of the deeper degradation and cruel oppression of their exclusion from the public

lands, but it will stand ready to expend scores of millions in helping them to homes—homes, as they may prefer, in this land or in foreign lands. Were it not for this expensive war into which the slaveholders plunged us, the Government might ere long have felt ooth willing and able to distribute hundreds of millions among them in return for their volu tary emancipation of the slaves. But now it is not probable that it would feel either willing or able to do so. Now its gifts will be to the laves only; and the slaveholders must count themselves fortunate if allowed to retain their houses and lands free from confiscation.

I referred to the laws which dany to colored people the purchasing of Government lands. North as well as South, this outraged people encounter DEFIAL everywhere. It meets them at every tarm. Rights and privileges common to all others—even to the basest and guiltiest—are inscritted with nextant to them. Even the noblest black is deried that which is free to the vilest white. The omnibus, the car, the balled box the inventor.

free to the vilest white. The omnibus, the car, the ballot-box, the jury-box, the halls of legislation, the army, the publis lands, the school, the church, the lecarmy, the publis lands, the school, the church, the lecture-room, the social civele, the table, are all either absolutely or virtually denied to him. Even the cemetery is. As well below as above ground, he is denied a respectable place. And yet, as I have already said, the people of the North will have it that they are the people on whose side God is. Was there ever so great delusion? Oh no. He is not yet on their side! And mountains of their infquity must they remove before they will have made room for Him.

mountains of their integrity must they remove before they will have made room for Him.

Is it feared that our coasing to oppress the blacks will result in our intermarriage with them? Who entertain the fear? Is it the licentious shaveholders, who fill the South with mulatures? Is it teared it will result in the overrunning of the North by the blacks? But if white men may run where they please, why may not black men? Entirely groundless, however, is the fear. Ceasing to oppress the black (and every form of their oppression would soon coase after breaking the yoke of Slavery) is the way, and the only way, to empty the North of her blacks. This would empty the Northern Slave States of them. Nay, it might cause their exodus, at no very distant period, from even the Southern Slave States. For it may yet turn out, when the laws of nature shall have their free play in the case, and men of every color be allowed to dwell where they please, that all the blacks will find "the bounds of their habitation" within the torrid zone, and all the whites find theirs without it.

Sixth: The higher esteem in which Democracy will come to be held among the liberal nations will not be the least valuable of the results of this war. Democracy

and all the whites find theirs without it.

Sixth: The higher esteem in which Democracy will come to be held among the liberal nations will not be the least valuable of the results of this war. Democracy is usually regarded as better adapted to enjoy the blessings of peace than to sustain the shocks and achieve the triumphs of war. Now, for the first time in all its history, it is called to a bloody encounter with the most fencious and horrid form of despotismfor such is Chattel Slavery. When, therefore, it shall have come off conqueror, it will have given signal proof of its adaptation to the work of rugged war as well as to the pursuits of gentle peace. Our circumstances will enhance our victory and inure to the still further honor of Democracy. For remember that our foe is of our own household, and has, like other traitors, all the more power from being of the household. For remember, too, that Chattel Saavery—sad inheritance from our British parent—had from the first been insidiously and rapidly destroying us. Nevertheless, when it made open war upon our Government and nationality, and threatened to kill it. For, I repeat, that to worst the slaveholders in this war is to kill Slavery, and that the purpose to maintain our Government and nation is in effect the purpose to kill the cause of the war upon them. Remembered, too, it must be that men of vast influence in the Government, and even members of the Cabinet, have, for a year or two, been secretly using their official power to prepare the South to make an easy prey of the North. Hence, on the reaking out of the war, it was found that the greater share of the most improved arms, and of the best-trained military officers were in the service of the South. So, also, it must be remembered that whilst the people of the South had been in training for this Rebellion, our soldiers had to come fresh from the field and the aloo, unused to arms and to military discipline.

Rebellion, our soldiers had to come fress from the field and the ahop, unused to arms and to military discipline.

The delay of the Free North in resisting this assault of the great Southern deepotism; her patience under provocation and outrage, and her mercy toward captured rebels, have, in the eyes of many, brought reproach upon Democracy. Nevertheless they will all redond to its credit when they shall be seen to be not the fruit of indecision and pasillanimity, but of virtues which denote the high civilization that Democracy reaches. Most emphatically will they thus redound, when they shall be seen to be entirely compatible with the resoluteness and energy which strike home when the time conset; which spare not when sparing is no longer safe, and which make short work of that which pradence was slow to enter upon, and of that which pradence was slow to enter upon, and of that which mercy would fain have ayoided altogether.

In connection with these topics of delay and patience, let me say that we need to have faith in man as well as in God. There is in some quarters a growing want of faith in the Cabinet and in Gen. Scott. I cannot think that the distrust is well founded. The war does, indeed, move slow. But the North can afford the slowness far better than the South can. The North could support for years an army double her present one. But the South, poor in pocket and poorer in credit, would exhaust her resources in supplying her present army for a single year.

Gen. Scott's policy is doubtless to make his work sure, and also to make it as saving of life as possible, and yet make it sure. We cannot doubt his ability, for he is confessedly the great Captain of the age. And why should we doubt his fidelity? True, he was born in the South. But as he has not the least sympathy with Slavery, and as he has been half a century in the service of the Government, and all his great fame

thy with Slavery, and as he has been half a century he the service of the Government, and all his great fame is national, he is not to be suspected of symputhy with the South in her Pro-Slavery war need the Court

the service of the Government, and all his great fame is national, he is not to be suspected of sympathy with the South in her Pro-Slavery war upon the Government and nation.

Nor should we distrust the Cabinet. There are very able men in it, and its members are all opposed to Slavery. We do not forget that some of them were deluded enough to believe that "the loyal Slave States" might be kept in the nation by means of a little further delay of resistance to the Rebels, and a little further concession to Slavery. But surely this delusion must be now quite dispelled. Or are remains of it to be seen in this bad silence of the Cabinet with respect to the service that the army occasionally renders to Slavery! By this time, however, the Cabinet must be convinced that, counting Delaware with the Free States, there are no loyal Slave States—no Slave States that, but for the restraint of Federal forces, would not break out in open rebellion. Neither the President nor any of his chosen counselors will favor concessions to Rebels. No one of them would not regard the ending of the war on any lower terms than the unconditional surrender of the Kebels as the ending of our Government and nation. Every one of them is for the most vigorous prosecution of the war until the Rebels are disarmed.

Peterboro, July 1, 1961.

LAW INTELLIGENCE.

UNITED STATES COMMISSIONERS OFFICE-JOIT 6. Before Commissioner Osmona.

John Brown, one of the erew of the American ship Sheridam, was examined on a charge of stabbling Charles Thomas, the first mate of the vessel, on the 6th of May last. The Commissioner held him for examination.

SURROGATE'S COURT—JULY 5.

Before Surregate West.

CHARITABLE EFQUEST—THE BLANKHAN WILL—WILLS

ADMITTED.

The will of James Markey was admitted to Probate.
The teststur bequeathed \$500 to the Roman Catholic Orphan
Asylum in Frince street.

The heirs at-law laws appealed from the decisious of the Surrogate is the countested will cases of Jane A. Blankman and Wm.
H. Merchant.
The will of the fall.

M. Merchant.
The wills of the following named persons, deceased, have been admitted to Probate:
Mergaret Jallaire, Salem Wines, Edwin, A. Clark, Jane Bhepherd, John Donohue, Franz Redelberger, Joseph D. Thurston, W. Hendricks Levy, Ann Burlans, Charles A. Kimball, Edward Owens, Charles Van Variek, Margaret Ward, John Comnelly, Frederick P. V. Letchert, Olibert Allen, Hannah Allen, Nany Lestara, Catherine M. Barrow, Wm. G. Breese, Richard Sands, Robbert S. Pack.
The two intere were contested. ontosted.

SUPREME COURT—CHANBERS—JULY 6.—Before Justice LEONARD.

THE FAREL GAME.

Mr. John D. Pierson caused the arrest of Julia Wright for complicity in robbing him of \$20, by means of the panel game. It appears that Pierson went to the house where Julia carried on her business, and while there was amused by Julia carried on her business, and while there was amused by the sudden appearance of a man protroting his head through the canvas of a platine langing on the wall. Hefore recovering free containing \$20. Pierson obtained the services of Sergeam Wilson the Eleventh Freedisch, and canced of his pockadeous, containing \$20. Pierson obtained the services of Sergeam Wilson of the Eleventh Freedisch, and canced on his postarious and of the Courte of Found. Julia was taken before Folica man could not be found. Julia was taken before Folica Junice Queschenbush, who held her in cantody, after handing the Junice Statement of Pierson is marriable. The macray was substituted to the Supreme Court, and, upon the return, asked the sho be discharged, on the ground that the statements by the that she be discharged, on the ground that the statements by the the shear of Fierson's narration to him was not ortalones. Edward R. Warsenwagt, Thomas R. Foeter et al.—Metion denied; is it could save at the Sarkey of the Sarkey and Thomas R. Foeter et al.—Metion denied; is it could be sent.

John F. Tanner agt. The Bank of the State of New

SUPERIOR COURT-SPECIAL TREE-JULY 6. - Sefere Justice Wm. Gregory agt. Sarah Gregory.—Judgment for Usinitif for \$12,952 S. as of Oct. 1, 1861.

Before Justice ROBERTERS.

JOSEPH W. Corline agt. Jabes W. Lyman et al.

New trial ordered upon payment by the plaintiff of the coals of the former trial, and subsequent proceedings.